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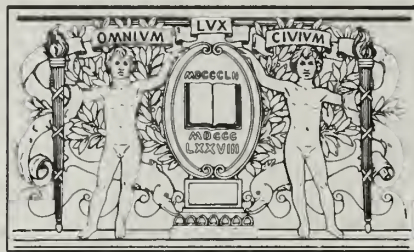
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# Chinatown

BOSTON 200 NEIGHBORHOOD HISTORY SERIES



HENRY ADAMS, the nineteenth century philosopher, said that the history of America is not the history of the few, but the history of the many. The people of Boston's neighborhoods accepted the challenge of Adam's statement to produce "people's histories" of their own communities. Hundreds of Bostonians formed committees in each of fifteen neighborhoods of the city, volunteering their time over the past year and a half to research in libraries, search for photographs, produce questionnaires, transcribe tapes, assist in writing and editing. The most important, act as interviewers and subjects of "oral history" research. These booklets are not traditional textbook histories, and we have not attempted to cull a statistical sample. We have simply talked with our neighbors, people who remember the city sometimes with fondness, sometimes with regret, but always with wisdom. For each of us has his or her own story to tell, and these stories are vital to the development of our neighborhoods and our city.

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*Boston 200 is the city's official program to observe the Bicentennial of the American Revolution from April 1976 through December 1976.*

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美國之百週年紀念

朱有律



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# CHINA TOWN

**A**LMOST a century ago, Boston's first Chinese pitched their tents along tiny, crowded Ping On Alley. They came from the West Coast as contract laborers, recruited for the construction of the Pearl Street telephone exchange.

From its makeshift beginnings, the "tent city" evolved into a tightly knit, tenacious community, and today, the narrow alley off Beech Street is at the center of what has become the fourth largest Chinese community in the United States. Immigration restrictions long stunted the community's growth; discrimination has confined Chinese workers to low-paying jobs; and the cultural barrier has prolonged the existence of an insular, immigrant community. Chinatown has always been a cohesive community and even now perhaps as many as 80 percent of its residents neither speak nor understand English.

While the Chinese number among the residents of nearly every Boston neighborhood today, Chinatown remains a focal point for them, a thriving business and social center that serves more than just its nearby residents. With its restaurants, grocery stores, and gift shops, the Beech Street area has become a source of food, culture, and friendship for its residents and

those who live elsewhere in the city, as well as for the Chinese throughout New England.

Recognizable by its pagoda-topped telephone booths and Chinese language signs, the community occupies a low-rent district bounded by expressways on the east and the strip joints of the Combat Zone on the west. Adjacent to the city's central business district and at the heart of its garment district, Chinatown's small area has frequently been the object of competition for its prime space. In recent years, the Boston Redevelopment Authority, the Tufts-New England Medical Center, the Massachusetts Turnpike Authority, and the Department of Public Works have been among the forces vying for the valuable space. Land takings have reduced the area by at least half within the past 15 years, while its population has increased more than 25 percent. Recently through the efforts of community leaders, a growing cultural awareness among the young and among many successful Chinese businessmen and professionals has led to a renewed interest and a greater commitment to resolving Chinatown's problems.

Bounded today by Essex Street to the north, the Massachusetts Turnpike to the south, the Southeast



*Paying respects to the ancestors, 1890 funeral on Harrison Ave.*

Expressway to the east, and Harrison Avenue to the west, Chinatown was, until the late 1830s, little more than an ocean tidal flat. The present land area of Chinatown was created, for the most part, by landfill more than 30 years before the Chinese first settled in Boston. The area was intended for residential use, but the railroad tracks blocked expansion to both the east and south, sharply reducing its desirability. By 1843, middle-class Americans were leaving the area and its transformation into a low-rent district, accessible to immigrants, was set.

Boston's introduction to the Chinese came soon after the American Revolution, when the Boston China Trade brought sailors and merchants to the port.

*Caroline Chang, a young Chinatown native who works for the*

*Department of Health, Education and Welfare, tells of Boston's earliest Chinese visitors:*

"Chinese people started coming to the Boston area quite early, even as early as the whaling days. New England merchant ships were going to China and they took on some Chinese as sailors or as crewmen. There are records of Chinese in the area in the 18th century. And there is one Chinese who supposedly is buried at the Central Burying Ground at Boston Common, and that's from those merchant days or whaling days."

In 1786 Major Samuel Shaw, a Boston merchant, was appointed first Consul General to China, and the importance of Boston's trade relations with China was affirmed.

But it was not until almost a century after the open

一八九〇年夏利臣街  
華人出喪照片

上頁圖片放大觀



*Close-up of photo on previous page*

g of the China Trade that Chinese immigrants established a permanent community in Boston. During the 1850s and '60s many Chinese, most of them from the province of KuangTung, came to the West Coast. American businessmen recruited them as a cheap source of labor to build western cities, communications systems, and especially the transcontinental railroad. By 1869, when workmen laid the last rail of the roadbed, there were nearly 63,000 Chinese in the western United States. During the 1870s anti-Chinese sentiment mounted steadily among other immigrant groups, because they saw the Chinese as competitors for scarce jobs.

Mary Dow, a respected member of Boston's Chinese community, explains the predicament of Chinese workers in the 1870s: "The Chinese were brought over here as a form of slavery. They had them build the railroads and do all the heavy work. Of course, they paid them, but after they had finished the heavy work they had no use for them. Then there were the Chinese massacres and

that sort of thing. Actually the Chinese have had it as hard as the blacks in the United States—they've really gone through the same phase."

Jobless Chinese began to drift to the big cities of the East Coast, where employment opportunities were better and attitudes more cosmopolitan. In 1875, this eastward migration led some of these Chinese workers to Boston. That year, a group of Chinese were brought from the West Coast to break a strike at a shoe factory in North Adams, a small milltown in the Berkshires. When the strike ended, the workers drifted to Boston in search of jobs.

*As Ms. Chang tells the story:*

"Chinatown started almost 100 years ago. The story is that a group of Chinese were brought in to break the shoe strike. There were the Chinese who had settled on the West Coast, and who had stayed in California after the gold rush, trying to survive. They were laborers — second generation, some still first generation — who had come for about five years and didn't have any





一九二三年陳氏家庭在  
中國之全家福像

*The Chin family in China, 1923*

other place to go and couldn't go back to China. They were a ready labor force when workers in this area went on strike."

After 1875, a small but steady stream of immigrants added to Boston's Chinese community. They came on the transcontinental railroad—the product itself of Chinese labor. Boston's Chinese arrived at South Station and settled close by, in the area known as South Cove. Like most immigrant groups they lived in a low-rent section on the edge of the downtown business district.

By 1890, the whole South Cove was clearly established as Chinese. As the tenements grew shabbier and

industry moved closer, previous immigrant groups—the Irish, the Central European Jews, the Italians and then the Syrians—moved out. Of an estimated 25 Chinese in Boston in 1890, at least 200 lived in Chinatown.

Chinatown's population increased slowly, however, because the Chinese were legally affected by a growing anti-foreign sentiment. The community grew to only 1000 people by 1920, and to just 1600 in 1950. The Chinese became the object of the most severe form of restriction; the Exclusion Act of 1883, which for 60 years barred all Chinese from entering the country, except for the wives and children of those



波城司徒氏全家合照

laborers who were already settled here. Later, the Immigration Act of 1924 flatly denied citizenship to all "alien Orientals."

The sojourners who left China were, by and large, poor villagers who intended to send money to their families and save enough so that they might return some day and invest in land or a business.

*As Ms. Chang says:*

"For a long time, most of the Chinese that came to this country were people from a rural background; they tended to have some education but not a whole lot. It was a predominantly male group that came. Originally the men came because of a drought and a rather unstable political situation in China. And these men just never got a chance to go back. The theory was they would come here, try to earn some money and go back. There was never the intention to stay here."

Before World War II, due to these restrictions, there were very few Chinese families living in Chinatown and rarely any Chinese women. The Chinese tried to circumvent the regulations, often by creating "paper families."

Chinese men who had immigrated here for construction jobs would return to visit China, and, while there, claim the "birth" of sons (sons were deemed more valuable than daughters). An entire "paper family" would be created as Chinese men claimed as wives and children people who were not even related to them. Someone here bought immigration rights for the "family member," most often a son, and then applied to the American Consulate in China for the child's entry to Boston. Once approved, the immigrant received the travel documents necessary to enter the United States.

The most difficult test came upon arrival, during a period of detention in an Immigration and Naturalization Center. The New England Detention Center in East Boston, which was little more than a jail, had

been established specifically for Chinese immigrant and criminals awaiting deportation. The waiting period ranged from a week to over a year. The immigrant "son" and "father" were each subjected to intensive interrogation, and discrepancies in their answers usually meant deportation. If cleared, the recent immigrant could remain here and perhaps travel to China himself some day to devise his own paper family.

Until the 1960s, then, Boston's Chinese-American community was relatively small and predominantly male; family life was almost non-existent; and, since there were few children to send to schools where they would learn English, acculturation to American society was minimal.

Because the majority of Chinese were alone and without families, the immigrants did not assimilate into American society. Racial discrimination and the language barrier encouraged them to cluster together; restricted housing and employment opportunities limited their mobility. They sought inconspicuousness and chose occupations that minimized economic competition with other groups, and they clung fast to the values of rural China, which further isolated the community. As Charles Sullivan and Kathryn Hatch explained in *The Chinese in Boston, 1970*, "In that [China's] crowded and competitive agricultural society, survival depended on family unity; the stability of the social structure depended . . . on the individual fulfilling his responsibility to the group. . . . In every respect, the individual was expected to defer to the wisdom and privileges of his elders." This ethic, which was based on Confucianism, was autocratic and hierarchical and valued obedience above all else.

*Harry Dow describes how this attitude has affected many Chinese immigrants:*

"Chinese are more or less fatalistic and believe that what occurs will occur as God ordained. If it was going to happen, it was going to happen, however you live your life. And I kind of felt that way too. We could g





# 早年波城茶樓一景

*traditional teahouse in Boston*

rough life being frugal and saving money and preparing for old age and retirement and all of a sudden—inflation. It changes everything. For instance, I know people that were millionaires in China, everything was wiped out; they came over here and washed dishes. And people that were professional people, fine surgeons in China, come over here now and cannot practice. They have to take menial jobs. So, you have to be fatalistic in a way and say, 'What will be, will be.'"

Few occupations have been open to Chinese-Americans and only rarely did immigrants find work outside of Chinatown. Willing to work long, hard hours, many opened laundries which required little capital and only a slight knowledge of English. The laundries created hundreds of jobs. All the work—washing, ironing, folding, and wrapping—was done by hand. The workday started at 5 a.m. and ended at 11 p.m., with 15 minute breaks for lunch and dinner, and another 15 minutes for resting. Even when machines were

introduced in the late 1930s, the hours remained long and tedious. However, the use of machinery freed workers on Sundays and many people began attending churches where they could learn English. The rest of the day they spent in Chinatown, socializing, grocery-shopping, gambling, and eating with friends and relatives.

Chinese restaurants were the other major source of employment for the community and many immigrants with little knowledge of English found jobs there. Grocery stores and trading companies serving the community spawned employment as well. During the 1920s, Chinese women succeeded other immigrant women in the garment and needle trades.

New communal institutions replaced the social hierarchy left behind in China. Family associations all but governed the community. The associations provided capital to start businesses, found jobs for the unemployed, and mediated family feuds; they also held Sunday social functions. Members bore the same surname but were not necessarily related. Since Chinatown was virtually self-contained socially and economically, these associations wielded considerable power. In each Chinatown, the largest family was most influential and, to compensate, members of several smaller families often grouped together into one association, tracing their kinship through history or literature. For years, the "supreme organization" in New England was the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA); an umbrella for most community groups, it commanded the unquestioned respect of the community. It was founded in 1875 to preserve ties between immigrants and Chinese back home, promote friendly relations between the Chinese and the-Americans, and organize welfare and charitable projects. It has traditionally served as the spokesman for the Chinese community and mediated problems among the many community groups.

One such group, the Chinese Merchants Associa-

tion, tried to assure each of its members a reasonable livelihood by limiting competition among Chinese businesses both in and outside of Chinatown. A typical rule prohibited two Chinese merchants from opening the same kind of business on one street unless a specified number of doors separated them.

The Chinese Merchants Association supported a Chinese school in Boston, the Quong Kow School established shortly after the turn of the century to provide youths with a traditional Chinese education and strengthen cultural ties. The community solicited scholars from China and others able to teach Chinese and held classes daily from 4 to 6 p.m. and on Saturday mornings. The school provided the equivalent of an eighth grade education in China.

Finally, there was Chinatown's remittance agent, a one-man multi-service agency. Through him, people made arrangements to send money to relatives still living in China. The agent transferred the money to another agent in the home village and relatives there received the equivalent exchange. In addition, the agent spoke English and took care of interpretation problems, immigration and naturalization matters, income tax forms, and other situations that required familiarity with American society.

The Second World War was a major turning point in the evolution of the Chinese community in America. The exclusionary laws were repealed in 1943 and other, less restrictive legislation followed. A national origins system was established which allowed 105 immigrants annually, plus immediate relatives of those who had become American citizens. At the outbreak of the war, many stranded Chinese Merchant Marine had volunteered for dangerous naval munitions run to England. In the next few years, a large number of immigrant Chinese men enlisted or were drafted into the Armed Forces. After the war, Congress granted legal residence status to these men and exempted their wives and children still in China from immigration





波城廣教學校  
一九三一年六月畢業典禮

*The first commencement of the Quong Kow Chinese School, June 1931*

quotas. The War Brides Act enabled more Chinese women to come to Boston and, along with other changes in the immigration laws, brought about a 100 per cent increase in Chinatown's female population during the late 1940s. The Refugee Relief Acts, enacted in response to the Communist victory in the Chinese Civil War, opened the way for over 14,000 Chinese to settle in the United States, and many came to Boston.

The attitude of Post-World War II immigrants was dramatically different from those who had regarded their stay as temporary. "It wasn't until after World War II when the communists took over China and restricted travel," says Caroline Chang, "that the men finally realized they were going to have to stay in this

country; they couldn't go back to China. Then people started turning to the idea of bringing their families over here." The Chinese at last started to put down roots in America.

The Chinese community became less economically autonomous and its population grew more diverse. The labor shortage caused by the war had opened the job market to Chinese men and women who worked at the Hingham and Boston Naval Shipyards, the South Boston Naval Yard Annex, and the Watertown Arsenal. The relaxed immigration laws paved the way for a permanent and growing Chinese community. Citizens bought homes and made long-term investments, and those who were eligible arranged to bring their families over. Chinese restaurants increased in

一九四〇年陳炳芳照



*Edward B. F. Chin, 1940*

一九三〇年華童參加  
波城三百週年紀念遊行



*Chinese children in Boston's Tercentenary Parade, 1930*

popularity and became extremely profitable businesses. Significantly many establishments provided transportation for their employees, preserving the old communal standards). Since it was nearly impossible to return to the mainland after the Civil War, Boston's Chinese turned their attention to their own community. The increased female population fostered more family life, and the first large group of American-born Chinese followed. For the first time, social and economic advancement became important to Boston's Chinese. And when their children entered American schools, some of the more obvious barriers to interaction between the two cultures, such as language, began to fall away.

The generation of children that grew up at this time retained very close cultural ties with China. If raised

in Chinatown, they very rarely associated with Caucasians.

*As one resident remembers:*

"There was a lot of discrimination. The Chinese were known as the 'yellow peril' that was coming into America. I remember going to kindergarten with my sister; we sat through a couple of days and couldn't understand a thing because we didn't have any English-speaking abilities. They sent us home and somebody found us roaming around the streets and took us back to our house, my father's place. Our parents asked why we didn't stay in school; we said, 'We didn't understand them and so they told us to go home.' So you can understand how far apart the various races were at that time."

The Chinese who went to college tended to major in



science or engineering, pursuing careers in fields where there was less discrimination than others and where fluency in English was not imperative. Parents discouraged their children from becoming doctors or teachers or from majoring in business, fearing that any infringement on the white world would arouse resentment.

The changes gave rise to some divisions in the community. The children of immigrants sometimes rejected their traditions, severely straining the bonds of family and community. Many of the recently naturalized Chinese-Americans hailed from provinces other than KuangTung and so they spoke different dialects. Ethnic divisions among Chinese-Americans were intensified by class divisions, especially after the revolution. Emigres and Mandarin (northern Chinese) students stranded here tended to separate themselves from the low-income, poorly educated Cantonese majority. The immigrants of the '50s and '60s were predominantly from Hong Kong and their cosmopolitan ways clashed with the rural values of the established community. "Hong Kong immigrants," declares one resident, "and the second or third generation Chinese are very far apart." Chinatown found itself deluged with cultural diversity.

Until recently, the Chinese community was essentially closed to outsiders. All matters were taken care of by relatives and friends. In order to save face, family and community organizations strove to resolve any problems their members encountered. In adhering to this principle they encouraged the stereotype of the self-sufficient Chinese.

The mid-1950s marked another major turning point for Boston's Chinese. Urban renewal and the construction of the Tufts-New England Medical Center shattered the status quo of the self-contained community. Chinatown could not remain silent against the encroachment by the outside world. In 1951, the Chinese Merchants Association building on Oxford

Street was opened for community use. However, within a decade almost half of the building was torn down to make way for the Southeast Expressway. This signalled the beginning of an urban renewal plan that would halve the land area of Chinatown.

Other institutions joined in the Chinatown land takings: the Boston Redevelopment Authority for the South Cove Urban Renewal Project, the Tufts-New England Medical Center for expansion of its health care and teaching facilities, and the Massachusetts Turnpike Authority for the turnpike extension. But in 1962, when the public learned of the BRA's plans for the South Cove, plans that many saw benefitting Tufts only, the Chinese community and Mayor John Collins reached a "memorandum of understanding." The memorandum described Chinatown as the area from Essex Street to Kneeland Street, part of the Central Business District, and the area from Kneeland Street to Tai Tung Village. To protect the community from further land taking, the memorandum gave the community veto power over any "outside" developers.

As urban renewal progressed, Chinatown residents were forced to relocate, first to the borders of Chinatown, then to Castle Square and the South End.

*As Richard Chin recalls:*

"Before 1955 there were no Chinese families living south of Dover Street. But after the Mass. Pike extension came through and they knocked down our houses the South End was the logical place to move. Chinese people couldn't move to the west or north because those areas were filled with the Combat Zone and the downtown stores."

Others moved to areas easily accessible by public transportation—Allston-Brighton, Brookline, Roxbury, and Dorchester. To the relocated Chinese, they were little more than bedroom communities and they continued to spend most of their working hours in Chinatown or in Chinese businesses.

Immigration to Greater Boston increased at the



伍金玉——一九三〇年代粵劇名角

伍金玉贈

same time that people were forced to leave the center city. Traditional employment patterns continued and more Chinese restaurants opened in the suburbs. As the number of restaurants grew, the number of laundries declined with the advent of permanent-press materials.

*One resident describes the situation:*

"The laundries have almost disappeared. They used to be the principal business of the Chinese, and restaurants have dashed out now into the suburbs and on the highways. Back in the old days, the only place you could get Chinese food would be in Chinatown. But now the restaurants are the principal business and there are only a few shops in Chinatown—the suppliers and one or two souvenir shops. But other than that the Chinese still aren't engaged in anything else, except the second and third generation or perhaps the better-educated folk from China in the professions—engineering, medicine.

"But many of the old timers know no other trade except what they're presently engaged in. A few of them work in the sweat shops or needle trade as you might call them. There's no avenue for them. And that is one of the problems amongst the Chinese workers. The workers have no employment outside of the restaurants and restaurants can't take care of all of them. There's a saturation of restaurant workers at the present time."

Chinatown, despite recent changes, remains the center of social and cultural activities. "The Chinese in Boston," says Harry Dow, "all gravitate back into Chinatown. Whatever associations or groups or leaders that have a say in most of the Chinese activities are centered in Chinatown." Chinese from all over New England still come to buy the week's groceries, visit with friends and relatives, enjoy their customs and speak Chinese, see an opera or indulge in a bit of gambling, a major social activity for many older Chinese. The family associations hold frequent gath-

erings for their clans and sponsor wedding banquet and christenings. Chinatown also provides the only social activities for the many single men who live alone throughout Greater Boston. One major celebration in the Chinese community is the August Moon Festival. *Caroline Chang explains that celebration:*

"It's the second most important holiday in the Chinese calendar after New Year's. The festival was really in honor of the harvest and women. There's a lot of legends associated with the August Moon Festival—they have to do with lovers. There's one story about a couple who had been separated. The woman went to live in New England. Once a year the husband was allowed to go visit the woman. He delivered messages through the use of moon cakes. So there is a lot of tradition in the festival. There are historical legends not just the more fairy tale legends. One says that during one of the times when China was at war the tribes used moon cakes to give over secrets to their counterparts by slipping pieces of paper inside them. According to the Chinese calendar it's supposed to be the 15th day of the 8th month. In Boston what we've done is we've linked up the festival with Summerthing, so we actually celebrate it a little late."

Two Chinese language schools, print shops, two Chinese movie theaters, book stores, and a Chinese Center for the Arts also promote Chinese culture.

In the late 1950s, the Immigration and Naturalization Service acknowledged the existence of paper families. It allowed these illegal immigrants to "confess" and become naturalized citizens after residing here for five years. By 1965, the government had abolished the quota system. Chinese immigration peaked in the late 1960s and the number of Chinese entering the country increased fivefold in just two years. The Chinese population is currently increasing by 300 new residents each year and newcomers face some of the same problems that confronted immigrant 20 years ago.



一九四〇年迎新去舊舞獅慶賀

*Driving Evil Spirits away with the Lion Dance, 1940's*

The language barrier is still the major obstacle that Chinese immigrants encounter. They continue to find jobs that do not require fluency in English and since there is no need or opportunity to learn English, they find themselves locked into the same menial positions. The language barrier has led to underemployment in the community, with doctors, physicists, mechanics, and teachers working in restaurants or other service occupations. These employment limitations only increase Chinatown's isolation.

There are new problems as well. Where family or community elders once handled all problems internal-

ly, today it is no longer possible. Since both parents often work, the close family ties that once characterized the Chinese way of life have weakened. Chinese parents and youths are experiencing a generation gap as young people search for an identity which will synthesize traditional Chinese values with modern American precepts. There are reports of increasing mental health problems and a rising juvenile delinquency rate. In 1972, one delinquency case was reported; one year later, there were 23.

Unemployment will certainly increase, given a saturated Chinese job market and a high city-wide



華埠夏利臣街  
耆英會會所



*The Golden Age Center, Harrison Ave.*

unemployment rate. In addition, the physical land area of Chinatown has decreased by half while its population has doubled, and there is no more available land to absorb an expanding population unless the community moves southward toward Castle Square and the South End. The other alternative is to build high rise structures, but that is not economically feasible for most Chinese.

But there is hope. Forward-looking community action groups are tackling Chinatown's problems. Programs in manpower training and English, a neighborhood employment center, a youth civic organization, elderly housing, and a new community school will all enhance the community and ease the acculturation of the Chinese in Boston.

Chinatown's residents and outside agencies are joining in this effort. In 1969 the Office of Human

Rights helped form a Community Grievance Task Force which, under the auspices of the CCBA, helps identify the community's problems. Chinatown Little City Hall has provided another needed link between the community and the City.

Another community group, the Chinese-American Civic Association (CACA), has become increasingly community-action oriented, and works to get funding for many social service programs. In 1971, the CACA organized the only bilingual conference in North America, the Conference on the Future of Boston's Chinatown. It brought together people from the West Coast, New York, and Canada to discuss the problems of Chinese communities and devise possible solutions. Since the conference, a Golden Age Center has opened and plans are underway for construction of elderly housing and a nursing home. Pagoda Park, built on a



small piece of land between the expressway ramps, is a recent addition to the community's recreational facilities. The health clinic has been in operation for almost two years. The CACA multi-service center provides adult education classes and publishes *Sampan*, the community's only bilingual monthly newspaper. Tufts-New England Medical Center has a unique bilingual mental health team for children and young adults, and the community's youth are active in many other groups as well.

Last year, 1975, Chinatown celebrated its 100th anniversary. The community has come a long way from the "tent city," but only after enduring years of prejudice. Boston's Chinese community is still very small. The community recognizes its limited political impact and the younger generation is determined to change this situation.

In its second hundred years, Boston's Chinatown faces the challenge of acculturating to American society while striving to retain its own cultural identity and heritage. There are already many middle-class, second-generation Chinese-Americans who have made substantial contributions to American life by their participation in American institutions. That number can increase in the coming years. But the community has been crippled by its isolation and stereotypes, and the Chinese people have yet to receive their fair share. If future generations of Chinese-Americans have an easier time living in the mainstream of American society, their contributions toward that society can be much greater than in the past, and both cultures will benefit.

華埠最老居民  
九十五歲于禮夫人

Mrs. Eng Sung, 95, the oldest woman in Chinatown







全部成功，就冀他們極有信心遠離華埠生活，但很難與白人同化而造成自我隔絕生活仍然存在。

一九七五年為華埠一百週年紀念，由帳幕城時代至今已有一百餘年歷史，但由於種種封閉作風使華人成為一種已為人遺忘的少數民族。

有些有熱心之行動者領導而出，致令華埠至今已開始轉變，因而組合英語學習組織，職業輔助中心、青年福利組織、房屋協會等。在來日各種社會難題將會迎刃而解。

在華埠之第二世紀，波域華埠之前景一定能深入美國社會，交流文化，而新生之下一代一定能成為

美國社會的生命主流中的一份子。

華商靜坐八仙之前

壘廣場及南邊。其他部份移居至街車路旁，以求交通方便。這些區域包括百拉頓、亞路士頓、卜拉及多連士打。為了能為其他市多些工作時間，居民把這些區域成為「睡房區」，同時，此類艱辛移民仍繼續進行，而由於移民條例放寬，使波城移民迅速增加。在五十五至六十年代，很多中國餐館在郊區營業，以致吸收很多新移民為僱員，因為中國餐館發展迅速，以致洗衣館多數轉業，從此再無新的洗衣館開業。

自男性受僱於餐館，女性就就業於製衣廠，因為那裡不需要講英文，因此華埠成為中國殖民生活的

焦點。雖然很多人居住郊區，但男性為交通問題而集中華埠乘車回餐館，女性亦多回華埠回工廠工作。現在，女性又為雜貨店工作，因為開業的雜貨店及餅店漸多了。

由於移民日多，波城約每年增三百，麻省每年增五百，連舊時移民，有者已入境廿年或以上，仍未深切了解者，我們將面臨極多困難。

最大之困擾，就是語言問題，當他們初到時，為了生計，不得不找不需英語之地工作。日後又無心再學語言其受工作所限無能再學，以致終生為此職業而了。

文化交流由始至終未能

之環境中較少受到歧視，但因語言接觸減少而阻抑了同化進度。華人父母不贊許子女們專讀醫科、教師或商業首腦，因他們在白種人圈內往往受侵害，但因此反而激起他們的豪情，致科學界中華人比其他界中為多。

一九五五年前，主要由於華埠是一個封閉的自我社會，海外華僑多生活在自我的圈內。『愛面子』的傳統使他們自閉自封，照顧自己及自我解決困難，界外人以前無法得知他們的困難，亦不知華埠社會內的一切。

華埠社會依然細小，家戶之間，相知很清。因家族細小以致使人們仍然局

限在家族的小圈子中。與三九市及紐約市的華埠比較，雖然波城華埠名列第三，但仍屬十分狹狹。華埠之商業漸長，因其人口增多，但仍屬靜寂。前此華人皆不明其所以然，當遭扶紐英蒂醫務中心置業及城市設計令華埠佔地喪失，華人將不會再長期以往自封與保持緘默。

一九五一年安良工商會大廈落成。惟至一九五八年東南高速公路興建，它不作直線延伸，竟而繞道華埠，硬生生地把這一座美侖美奐的大樓切去一半，留下了一道歧視華人、欺侮華人的疤痕！

當城市改建計劃進行若干年，華埠居民移居至堡

職業仍以製衣業為主。

一九四九年，共產黨統治中國後，粉碎了華僑落葉歸根，衣錦榮歸的美夢，不得不長作異鄉客了。

種族歧視致使華人固步自封，甘心雌伏於自己的隔絕社團，不受歡迎於君干居住處，不易得到理想職業。華人以中國傳統的讓步方式，逆來順受地過着容忍生活，以為這樣可以減少種族歧視的衝突。洗衣業是早期華人的主要職業，因為毋需高深英文程度及雄厚本錢，他們以双手及長時間工作以博取酬勞而生活。

一九〇四年，安良工商會設立了廣教學校，以便華裔青少年有機會接受中

國的傳統教育。該校原址在泰勒街四號，後來才搬到現址的奧士佛街十八號。

一八七五年成立的紐英帝中華公所宗旨是團結僑胞，發展企業，排解糾紛、促進福利、增進中美友誼，倡辦慈善事業等，而且為僑胞們的發言人。

此時此地出生之華人後裔及成長均局限在華人文化圈中。如在華埠長大，雖然有很稀少之白人交往，但環境使他們仍然保留中國的傳統。雖然他們接受此地高等教育，但嚴重的歧視使他們仍然回到中國人的圈內謀生。

華人亦有專攻科學及工程之天份，普遍在這專業



九五〇年之一千六百八。

由於美國之種族歧視，一九二四年，美國政府通過第二次排華法案，禁止華人申請其妻室來美居住，以致造成華埠為純男性社會，窒碍了華人的健康社會生活，使華人自對於自我的社會中，與外國人更加隔膜，形成了華人隔絕式的社會型式。

由於此一限制移民法例，以致造成所謂“假然”——即虛設的家庭記錄。華人返鄉生兒育女，往往申報比現實多的兒女數目。事後以高價出售該兒女入境美國的權利。移民官員往往扣留疑問之虛構生父於東波士頓之羈留中心作詳盡之查詢，此類審訊

時期由一週至一年不等。

當第二次世界大戰前後，華人已逐漸參入美國社會生活，並加入各式行業，很多華籍男女服務於波士頓海軍船塢，南波士頓海事工廠、興成船塢及水城兵工廠，勤奮地製造戰時軍需品。同時，很多男性僑胞亦被徵召及志願入伍在各類軍隊中服役。如願入籍即可取得公民權，根據“戰地新娘法案”，軍人眷屬入境不受移民配額之限制，致使華埠的單性社會迅速改變成有正常的家庭生活為基本。

由於華人收入普遍低微，導致女性多受僱於製衣廠以補家計。時至今日，英文程度低的婦女之主要

# 波士頓

## 華埠簡史

當十八世紀之八十年代，美國開始與中國通商的時候，已有中國海員及商人途經波士頓，但並未開始定居下來。後來大批移民落腳於美國西岸，最初用低廉的勞力替美國鋪築鐵路、建築城市和通訊系統。

約一八七五年，麻省西部亞當市的某造鞋工廠因罷工而缺乏工人，遂招聘了約百名華籍工人以補空缺。至罷工解決後，失業的華工便散居到鄰近的大城市中去。

早期華人在波士頓定居

場（即現在之政府中心）邊，因為這個地方交通方便，近火車站，及租金廉宜。

這批早期移民即在查理士鎮、北角、東城及夏利臣街等處開設洗衣館。

一八八三年，大量華人受僱為珍珠街興建電話站，為了方便，這批華工在狹窄的平安街廣搭帳幕為居所。其後從西岸移民過來的華人逐漸多了，以致居住的範圍擴大及伸展到南廂，這一層亦為其他國家移民居住過，如愛爾蘭人、歐籍猶太人及意大利人，惟屬流動性。

華埠人口遂由一八九〇年之二百人逐漸增至一



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*ACKNOWLEDGMENTS:* The experience and insights of many people of Chinatown contributed to the making of this history. We would like to thank especially Peter Chan, manager of Chinatown Little City Hall, Robert Rosenbaum and Peter Irons of University of Massachusetts College III, and the following participants: Mou Chan, Paul Chan, Aili Chin, Annie Chin, Edward Bing Fong Chin, Frank Chin, Mina Chin, Tong G. Chin, William Chin, Winnie Chin, Susan Chen, Jerry Chu, Amy & Edward Goon, Rowena Kwan, Richard & Helen Len, Alice Seto, James Soohoo, Eugene Tong, C. L. Tsang, Elizabeth Tse, Sam Wong, and the Staff of the Chinese-American Multi-Service Center.

*PHOTO CREDITS:* Susan Sills, Boston Architectural Center, designer of the neighborhood exhibit.

*SPONSORS:* The Chinatown Neighborhood History Project was funded by the Massachusetts Bicentennial Commission. The Neighborhood History Series was also made possible by the support of: The Godfrey M. Hyams Trust, Workingmens Co-operative Bank, and the people of the City of Boston.

Boston enjoys an international reputation as the birthplace of our American Revolution. Today, as the nation celebrates its 200th anniversary, that struggle for freedom again draws attention to Boston. The heritage of Paul Revere, Sam Adams, Faneuil Hall and Bunker Hill still fire our romantic imaginations.

But a heritage is more than a few great names or places—it is a culture, social history and, above all, it is people. Here in Boston, one of our most cherished traditions is a rich and varied neighborhood life. The history of our neighborhood communities is a fascinating and genuinely American story—a story of proud and ancient peoples and customs, preserved and at the same time transformed by the American urban experience.

So to celebrate our nation's birthday we have undertaken to chronicle Boston's neighborhood histories. Compiled largely from the oral accounts of living Bostonians, these histories capture in vivid detail the breadth and depth of our city's complex past. They remind us of the most important component of Boston's heritage—people, which is, after all, what the Bicentennial is all about.

KEVIN H. WHITE, *Mayor*



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